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HAWAII, THE GREAT OCEAN CROSSROADS.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY R. GIBSON,
OF TENNESSEE,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, June 14, 1898.

WASHINGTON.

1898.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY R. GIBSON.

The House having under consideration the joint resolution (H. Res. 259) to provide for annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States—

Mr. GIBSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: About two thousand years ago there sailed out of the Baltic Sea, in the north of Europe, a hardy and adventurous race of men known as the Vikings, the prows of whose ships were turned toward the west. According to the vague history of those times, these Vikings seem to have planted themselves first on the northern shores of France, where they founded the Kingdom of Normandy, or the Northmen, men out of the northern seas. Not satisfied with this conquest, they continued their roving westward, and about fifteen hundred years ago ran the prows of their ships upon the shores of England, and finally, about one thousand years ago, with William the Conqueror at their head, landed 60,000 men at Hastings, defeated and killed Harold, the English King, and made the British Islands the seat of their empire. And from that day to this the roving, aggressive, acquisitive spirit of the Vikings has never ceased to animate the English people; and for hundreds of years they have been exploring the land and the sea and raising their flag in every part of the world, so that the sun never sets on their possessions.

THE VIKING SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE.

After the discovery of America, the English descendants of these Vikings, still sailing westward, crossed the wide ocean into this New World, and colonized the Atlantic coast of North America. And here they founded a new nation, and proclaimed a new evangel of human liberty, and flung to the breeze, in sight of men and angels, a new banner.

But the spirit of Viking adventure and Viking daring was still raging in their breasts, and the more adventurous of the sons and grandsons of those old colonizers continued to move westward, ever westward; and climbing and crossing the Alleghany Mountains, driving the wild beasts and the Indians before them, occupied the coves and the valleys at the headwaters of the Tennessee and the Ohio rivers. But still not satisfied, the most adventurous sons of these heroic adventurers, chiefly the men who founded the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, continued to move westward until they reached the banks of the mighty Mississippi, the Father of Waters.

And here for a season their steps were stayed. The Mississippi was then the western boundary of their country. All the land that lay beyond was Spain's. How few of us realize to-day that

when Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio were admitted into the Union as States all the country between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean belonged to Spain!

WESTWARD THE COURSE OF EMPIRE.

But the tide of western emigration was irresistible, and rising higher and higher, was about to force its way across the Mississippi when Spain transferred Louisiana to France and France transferred it to the United States. Then the course of empire triumphantly resumed its westward way.

The descendants of the men who rode with Raleigh over the sea now rode with Frémont over the land, and animated by the invincible spirit of their ancestors, and marching ever westward and westward, they crossed the deserts and the plains, penetrated the wilderness, climbed the Rocky Mountains, crossed over into California, and continuing on at last stood on the shores of the mighty Pacific and bathed their burning feet and their parched brows in the waters of the sunset sea. There for fifty years have we set up the image of Terminus. There have we said was our *ne plus ultra*. There we once thought was the end of our national world.

But we miscalculated. Our nation has grown and grown. We have expanded on all sides and enlarged in all directions. We have become a mighty nation with over 70,000,000 of people and nearly 4,000,000 square miles of land and lake and river and bay. The fame and glory of our institutions have filled the earth, the products of our hands and intellects have penetrated to all lands, our ships plow the waters of every sea, and our flag is respected by every nation upon the earth.

THE OLD SPIRIT REVIVED.

And while we have thus been possessing ourselves of this great continent, driving out the wild men and the wild beasts, and laying deep and broad and everlasting the foundations of our new and better civilization, some had begun to think that the old Viking spirit of our forefathers had at last died. But that spirit was only slumbering, and when the guns of Dewey, thundering at Manilla, 10,000 miles away across the Pacific Ocean, sent their reverberations from west to east and from east to west, from north to south and from south to north, around the whole earth, the old spirit of the Vikings awoke and stood on its feet again, like a giant refreshed with wine, and with eyes still looking westward. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, there are two thousand years of adventure and conquest in that gaze, and the spirits of the heroes of those two thousand years are now looking westward through our eyes and thinking in our hearts, and you might as well try to dam the Mississippi River with straw or to stay the planets with smoke as to stay the westward career of our civilization by a political theory.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] has said:

No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
But the whole boundless continent is ours.

I would go further, and, in the sublime spirit of the heroic Vikings, would say:

No pent-up continent contracts our powers,
But the whole boundless ocean is ours.

[Applause.]

THE OCEAN OUR FIELD OF ACTION.

We are bound to become a commercial people. The more commercial a people are, the more civilized, the more prosperous, and the more powerful they are. In all the ages the most progressive nations have been the most commercial. Had it not been for the commercial nations, where would the world be to-day in civilization, in religion, in science, in art, and in all those humanities that ennoble mankind?

What are we going to do with this Viking spirit that, like a caged eagle, beats against the walls of our hearts? We have no more Western Territories to fill up. The Indian and the wild beast have been subjugated or destroyed. Our great north and south and east and west lines of railroad have been built. The wounds caused by our civil war have all been healed. Our wealth as a nation is stupendous beyond human conception.

What shall we do with our surplus energy? What employment shall we give to the vast accumulation of restrained enterprise among our people? There must be some outlet for it or it is sure to find an inlet. Remember Hudibras's sword that—

Ate into itself, for lack
Of somebody to hew and hack.

If we do not find some vent for this irresistible and irrepressible viking spirit of adventure, which has become a part of our heredity, internal commotion is sure to happen. The active, healthy, growing boy must have exercise, and if you do not give him lawful exercise he will take unlawful exercise. What is our nation to-day but a gigantic youth longing for grand arenas in which to display and develop its mighty energies! The man, Mr. Speaker, who thinks that our nation has attained anything like its growth is like the man who thinks the caterpillar has attained its full development, or that the tadpole has reached its maturity.

THE WORLD OUR ARENA.

Heretofore we have been living to ourselves, for ourselves, and by ourselves. Like China, which built a wall on the land and used the waters of the sea to keep all other peoples out of her borders, many Americans have imagined that we could get along without much intercourse with foreign nations, and that we had no duties to perform to the balance of mankind.

For my part, I believe it is both our duty and our interest to concern ourselves with the affairs of the balance of the world, not in an intermeddling, busybody, impertinent way, and not in a bullying way; but when some great national crime is about to be perpetrated, when an innocent people are about to be outraged, when a free community is about to be enslaved, or when an oppressed race deserves liberty and is valiantly battling to achieve it, in all such cases I believe it to be our duty to do all we can in the interest of humanity and liberty; and I further believe that the God of Nations will bless and preserve us as long as we fight His battles and execute His judgments.

I make these general observations, Mr. Speaker, because I hear some member of this House say that we must have the Atlantic and Pacific oceans as a wall of defense. Ah, sir, that is the old Chinese argument I have just referred to, an argument long ago exploded. The ocean is no longer a wall of defense, as China is now

finding out. On the contrary, the ocean is a highway of offense. In these days of mighty steamships and ironclad vessels of war the ocean is an element of weakness in time of war and not a source of strength. We have 4,000 miles of ocean shore, and every mile is a highway on which an enemy can attack us.

OCEANS NOT WALLS OF DEFENSE.

Away with this talk about the oceans being walls of defense. If walls at all, they are walls to be occupied by our enemies in time of war.

A nation that has a coast must have a navy to defend it, or it will be the victim of war. See how Japan, a little nation with a big fleet, a few years ago conquered China, a big nation with a little fleet. In that war China was like a great whale being destroyed by a Japanese swordfish. So, Mr. Speaker, we must have a great navy wherewith to defend our coast and the great cities along our shores. Happy is it for us that the present war is with a weak nation like Spain, whose fleet is small and poorly equipped. Suppose we were at war to-day with England or France or Germany. I will not draw the picture. The present war I regard as a warning to us to prepare for a greater one.

Mr. Speaker, we must possess the sea as well as the land. Great are the people who possess the land, but greater the people who possess the sea. Persia, a land power, was great, but Greece, a sea power, was greater, although Persia had millions of soldiers where Greece had only thousands. Spain in the days of Philip was a mighty land power, but England, though weak on land, was strong on the sea, and the Spanish Armada was destroyed and Spain's power forever crippled. Mr. Speaker, the nation that rules the seas will rule the world.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

With these preliminary considerations, Mr. Speaker, I now come to the specific question: Shall we annex the Hawaiian Islands? These islands are in the Pacific Ocean, about 2,000 miles southwest of San Francisco. Some object to their annexation because they are too far off. In these days distance does not always count. Time counts. You can sail from San Francisco to these islands in six days. When we annexed California it took six months to cross the plains in order to get to San Francisco.

How large are these islands? They contain about 7,000 square miles, being about the size of the State of New Jersey. What is their population? About 109,000. What sort of people? Hawaiians, Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, Americans, British, and German. But we are told that nearly one-half of the people are Chinese and Japanese. That is so, but they are there under contract as laborers, and are not full citizens, and if we annex the islands they will return to their own country.

How many white people are there? About 8,000, not including the Portuguese. Who governs the country? Americans govern the country. What sort of government is it? It is a republic like our own. And not only do the Americans govern the island, Mr. Speaker, but they own most of the island and do nearly all of its business. The principal language is the English; and the laws, customs, and institutions of the islands are similar to those of our own country.

Of what value are these islands to the United States? They have a twofold value to us—first, as a necessary stopping place for

our ships in crossing the ocean, and, second, as a necessary naval station in the Pacific.

In these days, when nearly all ocean vessels are propelled by steam, it is necessary, in crossing the Pacific, to stop on the voyage in order to get coal. There are, in the Pacific Ocean, west of California, 16,000,000 square miles of ocean in which there are no islands of importance except these Hawaiian Islands, which are in the very center of this immense area—an area five times larger than the whole of the United States, not including Alaska. All vessels that traverse this part of the Pacific, whether going east or west, north or south, stop at these islands, and, as a consequence, Hawaii is called the "Halfway House" across the ocean, the "Key of the Pacific," and the "Crossroads" of the western waters. And to give you some idea of the wealth of these islands and their enormous trade, I call your attention to the fact that in the year 1896 their imports were over \$7,000,000 and their exports over \$15,000,000. Most of the business of these islands is in the hands of Americans and is with the United States, and for nearly twenty years they have been a business annex of our country.

THEIR STRATEGICAL VALUE.

But these islands have what is called "a strategical value" to the United States. We need a coaling station, a base of supplies, and a harbor in the Pacific Ocean for the benefit of our war ships. In case of war between the United States and any great naval power it would be of vast value to us to own these islands. One of its harbors, Pearl Harbor, can be easily so fortified as to be impregnable, and that harbor, fortified and in our possession, we would be able to guard our whole Pacific coast, whereas those islands in the hands of an enemy would be a menace to our whole Pacific coast.

Naval officers of great ability all agree that it would be disastrous to the United States to allow these islands to get into the hands of an enemy in time of war, and we all know they are bound to fall into the hands of some nation soon. England, France, Russia, Germany, and Japan are all looking with wistful eyes at these islands. The inhabitants of the islands are not able to defend them, and they know this, and that is why they ask us to take them in.

These islands being the key to the commerce of the Pacific, their importance has long been recognized by all the great commercial nations, and several of them have made attempts to annex them. They have been seized once by Russia, once by England, and twice by France. It has required repeated and emphatic protests on the part of the United States to keep these islands from being absorbed by some of our commercial rivals; and the population of the islands is so mixed and so small that their governors fully realize that they must soon become a part of some other nation. The United States is the country they wish to join.

AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE ISLANDS.

The Hawaiians were converted to Christianity by missionaries from the United States, and these missionaries soon became in reality the rulers of the islands. As a consequence, the utmost good feeling grew up between these people and ours, and in 1851, and again in 1854, negotiations were entered upon by their rulers to annex the islands to the United States. This Government for nearly fifty years has been exercising a sort of quasi protectorate

over these islands, warning off other nations and giving the islanders special privileges by treaties of reciprocity.

The fact is the Hawaiian Islands have for fifty years been developing into an American community. Not only are Americans the owners of most of the property and the business of the islands, but the English language is the principal language spoken and the only language taught in the schools. An American in Honolulu would feel that he was in his own country, as on every side he would hear his own language spoken and would see all the other evidences of Americanism.

During President Harrison's Administration a treaty was negotiated annexing these islands to the United States, and the American flag was raised over them; but the Senate failed to ratify the treaty, and when Mr. Cleveland became President he withdrew the treaty and had our flag hauled down. This act, prompted, no doubt, by political malice, caused a widespread feeling of anger and humiliation throughout the United States, and contributed no little to the defeat of the Democratic party in the last campaign.

One of President McKinley's first acts after his inauguration was to negotiate another treaty of annexation, but the Senate having failed to ratify the same, the joint resolution now under discussion has been introduced "accepting, ratifying, and confirming" the cession of these islands to the United States, and the question now is, Shall we vote for this resolution?

OPINIONS OF AMERICAN STATESMEN.

The importance of these islands to the United States has been recognized by nearly all of our greatest statesmen for the last fifty years. In 1842 Daniel Webster, the great Whig Secretary of State, said:

The United States * * * are more interested in the fate of the islands and their government than any other nation can be.

In 1843 Secretary of State Legaré said:

We might even feel justified, consistently with our own principles, in interfering by force to prevent its [Hawaii's] falling into the hands of one of the great powers of Europe.

In 1850 John M. Clayton, then Secretary of State, said:

We could never with indifference allow them [the Hawaiian Islands] to pass under the dominion or exclusive control of any other power.

In 1851 Daniel Webster, again Secretary of State, said:

The Government of the United States * * * can never consent to see these islands taken possession of by either of the great commercial powers of Europe.

And when the French were threatening to take possession of them Webster said:

I trust the French will not take possession; but if they do, they will be dislodged, if my advice is taken, if the whole power of the Government is required to do it.

In 1853 William L. Marcy, the great Democratic Secretary of State, said:

It seems to be inevitable that they [these islands] must come under the control of this Government.

And he authorized our minister at Honolulu to negotiate a treaty of annexation.

In 1867 William H. Seward, the first great Republican Secretary of State, said:

A lawful and peaceful annexation of the islands to the United States, with the consent of the people, * * * is deemed desirable by this Government.

In 1881 James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, spoke of these islands as "the key to the dominion of the American Pacific," and he looked forward to the day when they would become a part of the United States.

In 1888 Thomas F. Bayard, the great mugwump Secretary of State, referring to the reciprocity treaties with these islands, said:

A political union would logically and naturally follow, in course of time, the commercial union and dependence which were thus assured. * * * It was simply a matter of waiting until the apple should ripen and fall.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, after these mighty giants of American statesmanship have thus so often and so solemnly declared that the Hawaiian Islands are necessary for our welfare, a lot of pigmy, latter-day politicians have the effrontery to come forward in the light of day and declare that not only do we not need these islands, but that their acquisition would be extremely hurtful!

Do these Democrats who are antagonizing the annexation of these islands know that all of their Presidents for the last fifty years have favored their acquisition, except Grover Cleveland? [Laughter.] Surely you have left good company and joined the bad!

OBJECTIONS TO ANNEXATION.

What are the objections urged against annexation? I feel like apologizing to the House for consuming its time in mentioning them.

One objection is that Washington and Jefferson warned us against "entangling alliances with foreign nations." Now, in the first place, a treaty of annexation is not an "alliance" any more than a marriage is a partnership. And if it be an "alliance," it is just such an "alliance" as Jefferson himself favored when he annexed Louisiana, and as Polk favored when he annexed Texas and California. In the next place, Hawaii is not a "foreign nation" in the sense intended by Washington and Jefferson, for it is inhabited largely by Americans, it is controlled by Americans, its language, religion, laws, customs, and institutions are all American, and it is no more "foreign" than was Texas when it was annexed, and not half so "foreign" as Louisiana, Florida, California, and Alaska when they were annexed.

Another objection is that the people of the islands have not given their consent to annexation. To that I answer that the President of the islands and his Cabinet and his Legislature have all unanimously consented, and, indeed, have actually requested annexation. The people have consented through their Government, just as our people will consent through their Government.

But I want to know of these objectors if the consent of the people of Louisiana was obtained before they were annexed. No; their consent was not even asked. Indeed, they were in no way consulted, but they were bought with a price as an appendage of the land, and Jefferson sent troops there to take and hold the possession.

Did we wait to get the consent of California before annexing it? No; we first conquered it, then we bought it, and then we held it by force of arms until we had filled it with our own people.

THE FOREIGNERS IN HAWAII.

Another objection is that the annexation would bring too many foreigners into the United States. Now, Mr. Speaker, in the first place, the aborigines are dying out, having already decreased from 400,000 to 40,000 in a hundred years. The Chinese and Japanese are not citizens, and will go to their own country as soon as

we say so. This leaves only 15,000 Portuguese, 2,300 British, and 3,000 Germans, Norwegians, French, and others. These are all the foreigners in these islands who will become American citizens. More than these often come into the United States in a single week at the port of New York, and yet none of these objectors seem to object to that. They are straining at a gnat in Hawaii and swallowing several large camels at New York. [Laughter.]

But when Louisiana and California were admitted we heard no complaint about admitting so many foreigners. Yet to-day there are five times more Americans in Hawaii than were in either Louisiana or California when we annexed them.

There is another reason for the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands. The President says he needs them to enable him more effectually to prosecute the war with Spain. Our war ships and transports must stop there on their way to the Philippine Islands, and to do so is in violation of the laws of neutrality; and if the Government of these islands should forbid our stopping there it would greatly cripple us in our efforts to send troops and supplies to Admiral Dewey at Manila. Let us remember that you can not cross the Pacific Ocean without stopping somewhere to get coal, and that these islands are the only ones that are friendly to us in all the wide Pacific.

As illustrative of the central and commanding position of the Hawaiian Islands, I exhibit this map, a careful examination of which will demonstrate the vast importance of these islands in and of themselves, their vast value to the commerce of the United States, and the infinite menace they will be to us as long as they are in danger of being acquired by some foreign nation.

A NEW ERA DAWNING UPON US.

We are entering upon the twentieth century. Soon we will be writing January 1, 1900. The whole world is in commotion. The rise of Japan and the fall of China have revolutionized the East. China is now the carcass, and Japan, Russia, France, Germany, and England are the eagles. "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." The dismemberment of the Flowery Kingdom has begun. All of her cities, rivers, and provinces will soon be thrown open to the commerce of the world. That commerce is in our sight and within our reach. It is a commerce with 500,000,000 people, one-third of the inhabitants of the whole earth. The nations that get this commerce will get wealth, power, and glory. Wealth, power, and glory are the three greatest objects of human ambition. They are the three things for which the Vikings longed two thousand years ago—

Far in the Northern Land,
By the wild Baltic's strand—

and these are the three things that have prompted their descendants to brave the seas and storm the lands, following the "star of empire" as westward it took its way; and these are the three great prizes—wealth, power, and glory—that thrill the spirit, shape the will, and propel the footsteps of those sons of adventure and evangelists of enterprise to be found by the thousands in every State of our Union; and newspaper men may write as they may, lecturers may declaim as they will, politicians may resolve as they choose, and Congresses and legislatures may enact as they prefer, but the old Viking spirit is in the land. It is the controlling spirit of our people. It is bound to have its way.

THE PACIFIC OCEAN
Showing the relation of
NAVAL STATIONS
AND PRINCIPAL PORTS
to the
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

HAWAIIAN STATISTICS.
AREA, 7000 SQ. MILES.
POPULATION-1896, 109,000.
EXPORTS-1896, \$5,515,000.
IMPORTS-1896, \$7,164,000.
REVENUES-1896, \$1,975,000.
EXPENSES-1896, \$1,804,000.
NET DEBT-1897, \$3,895,000.

"Manifest destiny" is its platform, its watchword, its faith, and its battle cry; and impelled by this spirit and this principle the people of the United States are even now taking a new departure, and whether it was the overthrow and dismemberment of China, or the thunder of the conquering guns of Dewey, proclaiming an American victory at the other end of the world, or whether it was the striking of the grand Clock of Destiny in the fullness of time, be the cause what it may, the American people have resolved to plant their footsteps on the sea and ride upon the storm. [Applause.] We are sworn in our hearts to compete for the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, and having so sworn, the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the completion of the Nicaraguan Canal become certainties.

THE NICARAGUAN CANAL.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, we must not only annex Hawaii; we must also construct the Nicaraguan Canal, and we must do both at once. When the Nicaraguan Canal is completed, California and the Pacific Ocean are brought close to the Atlantic coast. The East and West shake hands. This canal unites our two great oceans as the ligament united the Siamese twins. It operates like magic to bring our Atlantic coast 10,000 miles nearer to our Pacific coast, and our Pacific coast 10,000 miles nearer to our Atlantic coast. It brings Europe 7,000 miles nearer to California, and brings Asia 6,000 miles nearer to New York. It revolutionizes the commerce of the world. It does away with a voyage of 14,000 miles around the great continent of South America, and puts in its place a voyage of 147 miles.

This canal we are bound to build. The necessities of commerce require it. Our national welfare demands it. It will double the effective force of our Navy. Now San Francisco and New York are 15,000 miles apart on the sea, and in time of war our Atlantic fleets can not defend our Pacific coast, nor can our Pacific fleet defend our Atlantic. This canal brings these fleets together and thus doubles our war power on the sea.

There are three great keys to the commerce of the world—the Suez Canal, the Nicaraguan Canal, and the Hawaiian Islands. Give us the latter two, and no dream of national greatness that ever illumined a patriot's mind will equal the transcendent commercial greatness of our country.

The ocean is God's great highway. Any man can use it who owns a ship. Any nation can use it that has a fleet. No tolls are charged. There are no tunnels to build, no cuts to make, no fills to keep up, no cross-ties, no rails, no side tracks, no switches, no culverts, no bridges, but one wide, smooth, level road, open to all and free to all, without money and without price.

The Nicaragua Canal completed and the Hawaiian Islands annexed, the Book of Fate is closed and sealed; our supremacy of the seas is assured; the oceans become our domain; the dream of the Vikings is realized. God gives us the Hawaiian Islands, but He requires us to construct the canal ourselves.

ANNEXATION OUR FIXED POLICY.

We are told by some of our Democratic brethren that annexation is a dangerous policy and is a road that leads to national destruction. Mr. Speaker, this annexation road is not a new one, it is an old one, and not only an old one, but one blazed out and built and first traveled by Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Democratic party, when he annexed Louisiana in 1803; it was traveled by James

Monroe, another Democrat, in 1819, when he annexed Florida; it was traveled by James K. Polk, another Democrat, when, in 1845, he annexed Texas, and in 1848, when he annexed California; and it was traveled by Franklin Pierce, another Democrat, in 1853, when he made the Gadsden purchase in Arizona.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, to hear the Democrats on this floor denounce the policy of annexation and predict calamity as its result would make one think that nothing was more distasteful to Democracy than annexation. And by a strange irony of fate many of the opponents—indeed, a majority of the members on this floor—who are opposing annexation actually represent annexed territory, and would never have been American citizens, much less American Congressmen, had it not been for this very policy of annexation! And now for these members to antagonize annexation is almost as bad as to abuse their own mother for giving them birth, and a great deal worse than abusing the ship that carries us to a haven of safety and happiness.

No, Mr. Speaker, the policy of annexation has given us all the territory we possess north of Florida and west of the Mississippi. Let me give some figures on this subject:

	Square miles.
Louisiana, annexed in 1803.....	1, 182, 752
Florida, annexed in 1819.....	59, 268
Texas, annexed in 1845.....	274, 356
California, annexed in 1848.....	322, 568
Gadsden tract, annexed in 1853.....	43, 535
Alaska, annexed in 1867.....	577, 390
Total.....	2, 659, 869
Original 13 States.....	815, 615

You will thus see, Mr. Speaker, that the area of the original thirteen colonies was only 815,615 square miles, while the area of the country acquired by annexation is 2,659,869 square miles.

PROPHETS OF EVIL.

And yet after our national domain has been thus increased more than threefold, and after we have been traveling the annexation road nearly one hundred years, we hear members on this floor declaring the road a dangerous one and talking as though it was a new and untried one.

There are always a few timid souls who dread to enter upon new enterprises. Their imagination is filled with visions of failure, defeat, and disaster. They see Anakim and Zamzummim in the Promised Land. And so they prophesy evil, and utter lamentations like Jeremiah of old. They tell us that the Ship of State is sailing toward rocks and is sure to be wrecked. Oh, fear not, Mr. Speaker—

Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!

Sail on, O Ship of State!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee.

Our destiny is to become a great commercial nation. Situated as we are, with the great Atlantic Ocean on our east and the great Pacific Ocean on our west, with a great canal in Nicaragua connecting these two oceans, our people will control the commerce of the world. The Hawaiian Islands will become the greatest haven

for ships in the central Pacific. And when that day comes, as soon it will come, men will wonder how it could be that honorable and patriotic Congressmen could be found not only to oppose the annexation of these islands but also to predict that they would prove a curse to our country.

ANNEXATION THE DESTINY OF HAWAII.

Mr. Speaker, after all has been said and done, these islands will be annexed and will become a part of the great American Republic, and those who oppose their annexation will be forgotten as those have been forgotten who opposed the annexation of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and California. Those who prophesy evil as the result of annexation will, like bats, go into the caves of darkness and silence. A few old fogies still live, but they only serve as mileposts to show our progress as a nation.

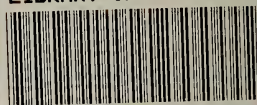
Mr. Speaker, we are going to acquire these islands. They are gravitating to us as naturally and irresistibly as the water in a river gravitates to the sea. They were made for this country and this country was made for them. He who fights against annexation fights against the stars in their courses and strives to reverse the ordinances of destiny. A grand future awaits us, and a grand future awaits Hawaii because united to us. The inexorable logic of events has decreed this annexation. Fate has entered it on her adamant pages. Manifest destiny says, "Take them in." The American people say, "Take them." Obedient to the voice of the people, I shall cast my vote to take them in; and to-morrow this House of Representatives will by a good round majority say, "Take them in." [Applause.]

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